20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

175*
872

> grammar translated into Visayan and also a big Spanish-Visayan dictionary. If you asked your teacher questions while the class was in session he might pull your ears or scold you. If you failed to answer questions on the lesson given you in the morning that afternoon you were given five lashes.[108]

[565] ●

The school was mainly for the sons of the better-to-do Filipino who lived in the poblacion. Children from the nearby barrios rarely attended this school.

THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTIONS AND THE REPUBLIC OF NEGROS

175*
635

In 1856 Negros was raised to the status of a military-political province; in 1890 it was divided into the provinces of Negros Occidental and Negros Oriental. In 1887 Negros' population was estimated to be 270,891, an increase of more than 65,000 in ten years.[109] [161] Gadiane mentions this administrative division of Negros and reports that a "military government was organized at Dumaguete under Governor Joaquin Tavira."[110] Negros' new provinces were still classified as corregimientos (military provinces) and governed by army officers.

---

[108] The stress on teaching Spanish in Siaton is interesting since this was not typical of most of the schools during the Spanish period. In 1885 a Franciscan friar wrote a pamphlet which ridiculed the Filipinos' efforts to learn Spanish and stated: "All a Filipino needed to enable him to go to heaven was to learn how to pray, to plow, and to be obedient to his superiors, especially to the parish priests." Encarnacion Alzona, A History of Education in the Philippines: 1565-1930. Manila, University of the Philippines Press, 1932, pp. 96-7.

[109] Galang and Osias, op. cit., pp. 405-6. In 1893 Echauz states Negros had a population of 320,606 with 42 towns and that the number of Recollect priests in the island had increased to 47. Echauz, op. cit., p. 37.

[110] This statement is from Gadiane's manuscript and is supported by Pedro Teves, "Una Breve Historia de Dumaguete," The Official Program of Dumaguete City. Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, November 24, 1948, p. 46.

known as the Gobierno Cantonal de la Isla de Negros. 175*
Eager to exploit this unexpected victory and to add Negros to his camp, Aguinaldo appointed Araneta "Politico-Military Governor of Negros." However, Araneta had previously contacted Captain Glass of the U. S. cruiser Charleston, then in Iloilo Bay, requesting American recoghition and protection. Glass refused because at the time hostilities had been suspended due to peace negotiations and American occupation was limited to Manila. Negros, therefore, was still a Spanish possession.[121]

Many influential leaders in western Negros were hacenderos who wished to safeguard their property. Though not unsympathetic to the revolution, they were a conservative force and desired a quick settlement of affairs, one which would ~~protect their~~ investments. They feared that Aguinaldo's agents might stir the people to revolt against the newly-established provisional government (which they later did) unless it was under the strong arm of the United States. The wealth of some of the sugar planters is illustrated by Colonel Smith's statement that when he came to Bacolod one hacendero was living in a mansion which had cost more than $120,000. It was this propertied class

175* 565

121"Department of Military Governor of the Philippines in Civil Affairs," Annual Report of the War Department, June 30, 1900. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, I, No. 10, 1900, pp. 249-50. Hereafter cited as War Department Report, I, 1900.

which established the Negros Republic and sought American support.[122] It was the same group who later abandoned the sickly republic with its increasing disorders for a stable regime under the American flag. Behind all of these events loomed the product, sugar!

The last of December, 1898, Rios abandoned Iloilo and Cebu and sailed for Zamboanga; this left Spain with only two outposts in the Philippines, Zamboanga and Jolo. Gadiane writes that Rios's warship, Paragua, shelled both Tanjay and Sibulan where rebels were located before stopping at Dumaguete to pick up the waiting Spaniards.

The two priests of Siaton, Juan Lorenzo, of Giliga-on and Lorenzo Cordon, of the poblacion, left Siaton by a small boat for Dumaguete after storing church records, altar equipment and priestly robes. All the Spanish priests in Dumaguete sailed with Rios on the Paragua for Zamboanga, and left the church in the control of Filipino fathers.[123]

---

[122] Report of the Philippine Commission to the President (Testimony and Exhibits). Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, II, 1900, p. 415. Hereafter cited as Philippine Commission Report, II, 1900.

[123] Gadiane's account concerning the Paragua appears to be correct. The Paragua, according to Wilcox, was one of thirteen gunboats later purchased by the United States from the Spaniards on Basilan Island. This is probably the same boat which took Rios and his group to Zamboanga. Wilcox, op. cit., p. 238.

175*
579
668

Echauz concludes his short account with a description of a religious sacrifice by this group.

The wealth of Negros' growing sugar industry made plundering forages to the lowland quite profitable. The large estates of the hacenderos were rich prizes. William Taft reported:

> In the Spanish times forces of a thousand to fifteen hundred men [Babailanes] was not at all unusual. They...made forays down into the rich sugar haciendas that are in West Negros and sometimes to the rich planters of eastern Negros [probably at San Carlos and the Bais-Tanjay area] ..."[148]

175*
565
556
578

The contrast between the rich and the poor was especially vivid in western Negros. The wealth of the hacenderos grew with the expansion of sugar agriculture. One American observer, writing in 1901, commented:

> The situation in the Island is somewhat similar to that in Europe during the Middle Ages,--the great families rule the land. The Lazuriaggas [Luzuriagas], the Mapas, the Lacsons, are the Capulets and Montagues of the Island of Negros.[149]

Many of the sugar planters exploited their workers, as was the custom throughout the islands, and most of the abuses that existed during the Spanish period continued under the Negros Republic. The rapidly growing population of Negros increased the number of landless farmers who probably looked enviously on the great holdings of the hacenderos.

175*
579
668

The Babailanes raided and stole from Spaniards and Filipinos alike. They had a set tariff of blackmail which

---

[148] Senate Document No. 4242, p. 14.

[149] W. F. Norris, "Legal Conditions in the Island of Negros," The Green Bag, XIV, No. 1, (January, 1902), p. 20.

Inalad, Bonbonon, Giliga-on and Bonawon. A new concrete bridge was built over the Canaway River; this improved the transportation facilities during the rainy season. 175* 653 494

In 1935 the Philippine Commonwealth was established. No elections were held this year for municipal officers; their terms were merely extended for an additional two years.[165] During this period the water system of Siaton was installed. The national, provincial, and municipal governments each contributed $5,000 for the construction of the new water system. A concrete reservoir was built at Sitio Talio, west of Naga, and the water brought to the poblacion by gravity. The water was piped only to the residences of the more prominent people of the poblacion. Public faucets were also installed at the plaza and a few other places. The system is inadequate for during the dry season the pressure becomes so low that the water runs only for short periods during the day. 175* 653 365 565

In October 1937 clouds of locusts came to Siaton. The insects covered the plaza and climbed into the church, houses, and stores. Nearly all of the unharvested rice was destroyed. In the same year Fidel Tayko was re-elected as Siaton's mayor, the new name substituted for presidente. His defeated opponent protested the election as fraudulent and won his case in Dumaguete. The victor became mayor 175* 731 175* 666

165"The first elections under the Commonwealth were held December, 14, 1938, for local offices." Tolentino and Zaide, op. cit., p. 151.

476
602
178
465

assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

435
342

Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

[369]
[565]

574
476
342
435

The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

[556]

435
342

1 [See p. 667ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

313
465

[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

796 or their supporters which represent a certain number of votes. The candidate selling the most tickets wins the honor of being the "Queen" of the fiesta, the runners-up are the "Princesses" or the "Queen's 'damas.'" In the larger *poblacions* and cities these contests became elaborate affairs and the candidates' parents or relatives may spend thousands of pesos to make their daughter the "Queen". In these areas, the contest is more often a struggle within the small elite than within the community as a whole.

796 The organization of each fiesta is done by various committees, a method which gives Filipinos, particularly those living in *barrios*, some valuable experience in committee work—one basic aspect of democracy in action.[7] Committee organization increases in size and complexity as one moves from the small *barrio* fiesta to large urban fiestas. There are usually the following committees in most fiestas: executive or board of directors; arches (to build the bamboo-paper decorated arches under which the patron saint is carried during the procession); athletics (to arrange for various competitive sports); auditorium and decoration (to build a temporary dancing area, especially in the *barrios*, or prepare and decorate the plaza or schoolhouse); beauty or popularity contest; dance; decorations (often listed as "all lady teachers" whose responsibility is to decorate the church and altar); finance and audit (usually chaired by the municipal treasurer); invitation and reception; lights (sometimes such a committee must arrange to rent a generator to supply electricity during the fiesta period); music; parade; publicity; program; and patrons and donors (to obtain prizes for the various contests held during the fiesta).

796 565 The membership of the *barrio*, and particularly the *poblacion*, fiesta committees is largely composed of the *principalia*—the more prominent people of the community. In the *barrio*, social and economic stratification is not as visible or complex as in the *poblacion*; but it exists, nevertheless, in a milder form. The importance of the *principalia* in organizing the Philippine fiesta is a distinct difference between most of the fiesta of Mexico where the organizational and administrative aspects of the event are disdained by the more prominent citizens. If the fiesta is to be more effectively used as a way of giving the people increased experience in committee work, the organizational aspects need to be broadened to include more individuals outside the *principalia*. Whether this can be accomplished, however, under the present systems of social stratification in the Philippines is somewhat dubious.

[7] In a penetrating and provocative article, Lansang states the lack of experience of most Filipinos with "so elementary a democratic tool as the committee of conference." Jose Lansang, "The Philippine-American Experiment, a Filipino View," *Pacific Affairs*, 25:233, September, 1952.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

796
565
562

pines is somewhat dubious. Usually the executive committee is composed of the mayor or other municipal officials, schoolteachers, and prominent merchants in the larger *poblacions*. In a survey made of 28 different fiestas held in 16 different *poblacions*, the executive committee was almost always completely dominated by men. In certain committees, such as decoration, invitation, reception, dances, and prizes, there are normally more women than men, yet *the chairman* of these committees is usually a man. Very few women are included in the finance and audit committees of the fiesta. The Filipina's privilege of controlling the family purse-strings is not extended to the management of fiesta finances.

The predominance of men on the fiesta committees is due to a number of factors. Men, with their greater physical strength, are more appropriate as members of such committees engaged in building arches, constructing a dance platform, etc. Women, traditionally assigned certain positions in Philippine society, are the logical choice (culturally) for committees needed to decorate the church altar (making lovely paper flowers, a skill taught them by the older generation of Spanish priests), etc. Yet the predominance of males over females in the rural fiesta organization reflects another factor, i. e., the secular nature of the complex. Catholicism in the *barrios* and *poblacions* is primarily feminine. In those sacred aspects of the fiesta the women normally predominate, yet the contemporary fiesta is a complex which falls largely within the sphere of masculine activities. There are many other interesting and significant aspects of the Philippine fiesta which merit attention but cannot be dealt with here owing to space limitations.

796

The material which follows is a "reconstruction" of the "fiesta core," *vesperas* and *kahologan*. This "core" is typical of nearly all of the fiestas observed by the writer in Negros Oriental province and of those fiestas analyzed through their printed fiesta programs. Variations in the fiesta complex do occur before or after this "core" with some fiestas having a formal program covering as much as eight days. The fiesta's length is often increased by synchronizing it with other events such as a provincial Boy Scout meeting, the opening of a new bridge in the area, etc. Another difficulty inherent in this "reconstruction" of the fiesta complex "core" is that it blurs differences between small *barrio* and larger, more urban *poblacion* fiestas. This reconstruction is more typical of a medium-size urban *poblacion* than a typical small *barrio* or sitio.

Vesperas, the day before *kahologan* is also called "Proclamation Day," "Eve of the Fiesta," or "Fiesta Vesperas," although in the printed fiesta programs the most common title is "Proclamation Day"—when the elected